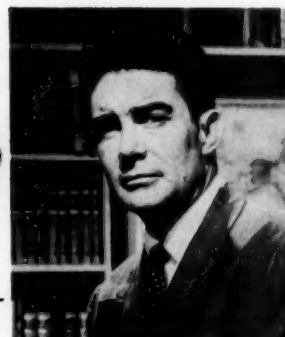


# THE Dan Smoot Report



DAN SMOOT

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Dallas, Texas

## From Little Rock to Lebanon

The U. S. News & World Report, on July 25, 1958, praised President Eisenhower for sending troops into Lebanon, saying there was no alternative:

*The world now sees that U. S. can be pushed only so far. It apparently had begun to wonder. Why so? Korean armistice was on terms Communists liked. Indo-China was a retreat. Suez found U. S. saving Nasser's neck. Syria then was allowed to go to Nasser, uncontested.*

*Appeasement . . . had not worked. . . . A show of force became the only alternative.*

On page 68 of this July 25, 1958, issue, U. S. News & World Report has an article called "Story of A Decision." There is a picture of President Eisenhower, solemn and thoughtful, under the caption, "The Soldier-President Makes a Report To The People."

Here are some things the article says about the Soldier-President and his decision to send troops to Lebanon:

*When the President took that decision on July 14, he saw one of his fondly held hopes go glimmering. Mr. Eisenhower's hope had been that he could bring an end to the use of military force in the world. . . .*

*Mr. Eisenhower went into office with the determination to be a peacemaker. Any variation from the peacemaking theme was frowned upon in his Administration. He wound up his campaign for election in 1952 with a promise to stop the fighting in Korea. He has stuck to that theme ever since.*

*The President ended the war in Korea with a truce. . . . As provocations and irritations mounted, he refrained from using force in many areas. . . .*

*Mr. Eisenhower did call the 101st Airborne Division into action at Little Rock, Arkansas, to put down mobs that objected to mixing the races in that city's Central High School.*

*In the rest of the world, however, the emphasis was on forbearance. . . . The restraint in the White House went so far as to accept the kidnaping of Americans in military uniform by Cuban rebels, the shooting down of an American plane in Soviet Armenia and the near lynching of its crew, insults to the American flag and American citizens in many foreign cities.*

From the halls of Central High School, to the shores of Tripoli!

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## Protecting American Lives?

Considering the background (see article above), what can we say about the President's claim that U. S. Marines were sent into Lebanon on July 15 to protect American lives? We can say only that this reason was given exclusively for the benefit of American public opinion.

There are approximately 2500 Americans in Lebanon. On July 15, the Lebanon rebellion was in its 68th day. All Americans there had had plenty of time to leave. In fact, in mid-May 1958, the American government had commandeered an American passenger ship, *Jackson Creek*, and had sent it to Tripoli to evacuate 53 Americans. There is no evidence that our government tried to evacuate the other Americans — or even recommended that they leave Lebanon.

On the evening of July 15, 1958, the President made a radio-television speech to the nation to explain the sending of troops to Lebanon.

One might have expected an elected President to justify such serious action by reference to the Constitution, which he is sworn to preserve, protect, and defend. Nowhere in his speech did the President mention the Constitution or his constitutional authority. He didn't even, in a roundabout way, mention any constitutional principles or ideals to justify his actions.

The President found his *inspiration*, not in the Constitution of the United States, but in the Charter of the United Nations.

He said:

*We are not actuated by any hope of material gain or by any emotional hostility against any person or any government. Our dedication is to the principles of the United Nations Charter. . . . There can be no peace in the world unless there is fuller dedication to the basic principles of that great document.*

The President found his *legal authority*, not in the Constitution of the United States, but in the Charter of the United Nations.

He said:

*The United States does not, of course, intend to replace the United Nations, which has a primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security. We reacted as we did within a matter of hours because the situation was such that only prompt action would suffice. We have, however, with equal promptness moved in the United Nations. This morning there was held at our request an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council. At this meeting we reported the action we had taken. We stated the reasons therefore. We expressed the hope that the United Nations would itself take measures which would be adequate and permit of the early withdrawal of the United States forces. . . .*

*Does the stationing of some United States troops in Lebanon involve any interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon? The clear answer is "No."*

*First of all, we have acted at the urgent plea of the Government of Lebanon. . . . It is entitled, as are we, to join in measures of collective security for self-defense. Such action, the United Nations Charter recognizes, is an "inherent right."*

In his July 15 speech to the nation, explaining to Americans why he was risking the lives of their sons in the Middle Eastern maelstrom, the President made only three passing references to the national interest of America — in each instance intertwining, if not subordinating, that interest to the interests of foreign nations:

*The mission of these forces is to protect American lives . . . and by their presence to assist the Government of Lebanon to preserve its territorial integrity and political independence. . . .*

*I believe that the presence of the United States forces now being sent to Lebanon will have a stabilizing effect which will help to preserve the independence and integrity of Lebanon. It will also*

afford an increased measure of security to the many hundreds of Americans who reside in Lebanon. . . .

*I am well aware the landing of United States troops in Lebanon could have some serious consequences. . . . I have, however, come to the sober and clear conclusion that the action taken was essential to the welfare of the United States. It was required to support the principles of justice and international law upon which peace and a stable international order depend.*

Since the Marines landed in Lebanon on July 15, there has been a rash of feature stories in the American press showing how often, and for how long, American military forces have been sent into foreign lands "to protect American interests."

Most of these stories begin with President Jefferson's sending a small force into the Mediterranean, to the shores of Tripoli, to beard the Barbary pirates in their den; and they dwell on the early twentieth century period of revolutionary upheavals in South America when U. S. Marines were frequently sent ashore somewhere to protect American nationals.

The purpose of these feature stories is obvious: to show that our Soldier-President has at last returned to traditional American policy of using our nation's might to protect our flag and our nationals wherever they may be abused.

The falsity of this conclusion is also obvious: neither the American flag nor American nationals were being abused in Lebanon. On the day that we sent the Marines into Lebanon to protect Americans who did not need protection (and, since they had had ample opportunity to get out but had chosen to stay, were not really entitled to protection) four Americans were murdered in Iraq — where the upheaval was so sudden that Americans had not actually had a chance to get out. We didn't send any troops to Iraq.

We have not yet sent any troops to protect

American lives in communist China, where hundreds, if not thousands, of Americans have been abused for years. And these Americans in China are not tourists or businessmen who went there voluntarily, choosing to take the risks involved: they are American soldiers who were captured in battle while fighting for their country.

\* \* \* \* \*

## The UN Forsakes A Friend

The United Nations Charter provision which President Eisenhower cited as his authority for sending troops into Lebanon is Article 51:

*Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense, if an armed attack occurs against a member of the organization, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it may deem necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.*

The meaning is clear: if one or more nations are suddenly attacked, and don't have time to wait for action by the UN Security Council, they can take action to defend themselves; but they must immediately report their action to the UN Security Council. After the UN Security Council steps in, it has full authority.

Was the President actually obeying the provisions of this article?

Violent riots occurred in Tripoli on May 8, 1958. By May 11, our government had "positive proof" from "reliable sources" that the Syrian military intelligence service had instigated and was leading the riots in Lebanon — according to information which Under



Secretary of State Christian Herter gave to Congressional committees on July 16.

Throughout the months of May and June and the first two weeks of July — according to Mr. Herter's testimony — we had continuing and abundant documentary proof that Egypt and Syria were sending large quantities of money, arms, and men into Lebanon to fight the lawful government there. And throughout that period, the President of Lebanon was appealing to the United States and to the UN Security Council for help.

**I**f we had done in May what we finally did in July — if we had rushed troops into Lebanon before the UN Security Council got around to acting — we might have argued logically that we were acting in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter: we and the government of Lebanon were taking emergency measures only until such time as the UN Security Council could act.

But that is not the way it happened.

We did nothing except promise help to Lebanon if things got worse. The UN Security Council did nothing until June 11 — when the rebellion in Lebanon was over a month old.

**O**n June 11, 1958, the UN Security Council decided to send 100 unarmed observers into Lebanon to seal the borders so that the rebels could get no further outside help!

Naturally, the rebels wouldn't even let the UN observers near the borders; and, naturally, the silly UN gesture was totally worthless.

But, note well, the UN Security Council had acted. Its action was stupid and ineffective, as any one familiar with the UN would expect it to be; but it had acted.

**H**ence, the President did not go to the aid of Lebanon on July 15, under the authority of Article 51 of the UN Charter, as he

claimed. This UN Charter provision would have authorized the President's action only in an emergency period when the UN Security Council had not yet had a chance to act.

The truth is that President Eisenhower didn't like the UN Security Council's action. Hence, he acted, not in compliance with the UN Charter, but in defiance of it.

**I**n a special message to Congress on July 15, the President said:

*I have concluded that, given the developments in Iraq, the measures thus far taken by the United Nations Security Council are not sufficient to preserve the independence and integrity of Lebanon. I have considered, furthermore, the question of our responsibility to protect and safeguard American citizens in Lebanon, of whom there are about 2500. Pending the taking of adequate measures by the United Nations, the United States will be acting pursuant to what the United Nations Charter recognizes is an inherent right — the right of all nations to work together and to seek help when necessary to preserve their independence. I repeat that we wish to withdraw our forces as soon as the United Nations has taken further effective steps designed to safeguard Lebanese independence.*

**T**here is pathos in that paragraph.

The President, who idolizes the UN and has been its greatest friend; who has made the UN the keystone of his foreign policy; who has consistently sacrificed American national interests for UN interests; who has ignored or violated the Constitution of the United States in order to uphold the Charter of the United Nations, is now driven to defiance of the idol he has worshiped. But he still expresses the forlorn hope that the UN will justify his faith and bail him out — by taking *effective steps* in Lebanon.

A forlorn hope indeed!

**T**he President had asked that the UN Security Council authorize an armed UN police

force in Lebanon. This would have meant — as it meant in Korea — that American soldiers would be doing whatever fighting was necessary and that American citizens would be paying the bills; but the action could then be technically termed an *international, United Nations* effort.

The UN, of course, refused to save face for the President. Instead, it took advantage of the opportunity to slap him in the face.

On July 14, when the President asked for an emergency session of the UN Security Council, Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of the UN, quickly got in touch with the UN observer team in Lebanon and asked for a special report.

Next day, when the UN Security Council met, Hammarskjold presented the special report — which said, in effect, that the UN observer team had everything under control in Lebanon and that there was no need for the U. S. Marines!

American patriots who revere our constitutional system and traditions of independence would rejoice to see our President defy the United Nations if he were doing so in the interests of American independence. It is apparent, however, that the President acted not in the national interests of America, but in a desperate effort to save the internationalism on which the whole, horrible United Nations outfit is built. He defied the UN in a desperate effort to save the UN.

Desperate? Was it not desperation which led the President to ask the UN Security Council to sanction his action in Lebanon when he knew that the Soviets have a veto in the Security Council? Did he really think the Soviets would let the UN Security Council do what he asked?

He must have known that the Soviets would veto any American resolution in the Security Council — as they did. He is probably gambling on the hope that we can now

get the question before the General Assembly of the UN — where the Soviets do not have a veto and where we can have our way if we can get enough delegates to vote with us.

**H**ow could any of this possibly be construed as an effort to save the UN?

If the UN is the keystone of America's Truman-Eisenhower foreign policy — as it is — America's foreign aid and trade programs are most certainly foundation stones of the whole UN one-world socialist program.

If Congress would kill the administration's Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program and put an end to its foreign aid programs, the President's "authority" to use American tax money, and American markets, and American soldiers to defend, and feed, and industrialize, and uplift the entire world would be so seriously curtailed that UN internationalism would wither and die.

**T**he administration's foreign aid and trade programs are in trouble with Congress this year. It is true that Congress is not about to halt the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program entirely and is not about to kill the foreign aid program outright. The Congress has already indicated that it will give the President most of what he asked for in foreign aid and trade authority. But the administration wants *all* that it asked for.

Experienced observers say that the Lebanon situation was seized upon as a dangerous emergency to blackmail Congress into giving the President the uncurtailed trade and aid programs he asked for.

**T**hat is, of course, merely an educated guess; but have you noticed the steady drum-fire of propaganda put out by Lyndon Johnson, Sam Rayburn, the State Department, the White House — by top administration and congressional leaders of both parties — since the Marines landed in Lebanon? All of it hammers the theme that the dangerous situation

in the Middle East proves how disastrous it would be to cut back seriously, at this time, on the administration's foreign aid and trade program.

This is the umpteenth verse of the old internationalist refrain which has been sung with nauseating monotony: every time the Truman-Eisenhower internationalist programs of foreign aid and collective defense are dramatically proven to be disastrously wrong for America, the internationalists use the evidence of their own failure as proof that we must have more of the same.

At this moment, there is one ray of hope in the Middle Eastern situation: millions of Americans, who had never really thought about the United Nations, but who had assumed that it was good because they had been brainwashed into thinking so, suddenly became aware that the United Nations had left President Eisenhower high and dry when he asked for UN approval of his actions in Lebanon.

Right now, there is more anti-United Nations feeling in America than at any time since the latter days of the Korean war — possibly even more than then.

If this anti-UN feeling could grow great enough to sweep the UN out of the US and to force our withdrawal from the UN, we might once again have an American government which would look to the American Constitution instead of the United Nations Charter for authority to act. We might once again have an American government devoted to providing defense and securing the blessings of liberty for Americans.

\* \* \* \* \*

## All or Nothing

Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupe, Director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania, is a brilliant and learned internationalist. He, like most other internationalists, thinks that World War II catapulted

America into a position of "world-leadership" and that, if we don't lead, the world will go to ruin, dragging us down with it.

In an article in *U. S. News & World Report*, July 25, 1958, Dr. Strausz-Hupe says that the collapse of the French and British colonial empires after World War II left power vacuums which America must fill. He approves of the President's action in sending troops to Lebanon but says we should have done it two years before — and that we should now "go the whole hog" to save the Middle East:

*The basic fact has always been that we have got to fill a vacuum, we've got to step in — we've got to step into Britain's shoes.*

*The Middle East can be retrieved. It all depends now on exactly how far we are willing to go. We have to "go the whole hog."*

I agree that the United States should lead the world — but in the direction of freedom. For the first 125 years of our national life, we led the world toward the ideal of human freedom — not by meddling in foreign affairs, but by maintaining friendly commercial and cultural relations with other nations while staying out of their political affairs. By following the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the precepts of our Constitution, we set a thrilling example for the world to emulate — proving that free men can govern themselves and be prosperous.

When we abandoned that role, to take on the role of France and England — of policing and managing the world — we started down the steep road that is leading France and England into oblivion.

America is supposed to be a free and independent republic; and the simple truth is that a free and independent republic can not be a "world leader" in the sense that our internationalists mean. A free and independent republic is not *qualified* to play the game of international power politics successfully: it is too handicapped by its own traditions and institutions of freedom.

Only monarchies and dictatorships have



enough power over their own people to operate quickly and freely in the area of international power politics. Our government is not supposed to have that much power.

When the American government becomes an absolute dictatorship, it can compete, in the fields of propaganda and power politics, with other absolute dictatorships. Until then, the dictatorships will always defeat our government in the dictatorship-activities that our government has no right to be involved in anyway.

If people are willing to be slaves, dictatorship will work. In those activities suitable only for dictatorships, dictatorship is the most efficient kind of government.

Freedom will work, too.

A free people will outpace slaves in every important field. If, for example, our government were restricted (as was originally intended) to the valid functions of enforcing a stern and impartial justice and of defending the nation against foreign enemies, our national accomplishments in the arts, the sciences, medicine, education, industry, agriculture — in every important activity imaginable — would be so infinitely greater than that of the Soviets that only psychopaths and

fools would be troubled about growing Soviet strength.

We are presently frustrated by being half-slave, half-free. As an independent nation, we cannot linger forever in this half-and-half stage — any more than a man afflicted with a virulent disease can linger long in a state of sickness: he must either get well or die.

As a nation, we must either climb back up that steep and hazardous cliff to the plateau of freedom which we abandoned — or we must go all the way down into the abyss of slavery.

Our federal government, trying to operate on the international stage (and at home, too) as a dictatorship, is hamstrung by the traditions and trappings of freedom — by the pressures and agitation of citizens who still want freedom, and by the controls of a Congress which still has patriots in it.

As long as there are Constitutionalists writing and broadcasting, or in the Congress, or writing letters to Washington officials, or running important businesses, or voting at the polls — our leaders cannot have a free and easy hand to play the game of dictatorship.

Our leaders — competing with dictators who have the power to make sudden and ar-

## WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Dan Smoot was born in Missouri. Reared in Texas, he attended SMU in Dallas, taking BA and MA degrees from that university in 1938 and 1940.

In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow in English, doing graduate work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of American Civilization.

In 1942, he took leave of absence from Harvard in order to join the FBI. At the close of the war, he stayed in the FBI, rather than return to Harvard.

He served as an FBI Agent in all parts of the nation, handling all kinds of assignments. But for three and a half years, he worked exclusively on communist investigations in the industrial midwest. For two years following that, he was on FBI headquarters staff in Washington, as an Administrative Assistant to J. Edgar Hoover.

After nine and a half years in the FBI, Smoot resigned to help start the Facts Forum movement in Dallas. As the radio and television commentator for Facts Forum, Smoot, for almost four years spoke to a national audience giving both sides of great controversial issues.

In July, 1955, he resigned and started his own independent program, in order to give only one side — the side that uses fundamental American principles as a yardstick for measuring all important issues. Smoot now has no support from, or connections with, any other person or organization. His program is financed entirely from sales of his weekly publication, *The Dan Smoot Report*.

If you believe that Dan Smoot is providing effective tools for those who want to think and talk and write on the side of freedom, you can help immensely by subscribing, and encouraging others to subscribe, to *The Dan Smoot Report*.

bitrary decisions — will continue to lead us from shameful defeat to more shameful defeat until America is destroyed.

Americans must make a choice: we must shut up the clamorous few who keep alive the remnants of freedom so that our President can become a dictator and compete effectively in the fields of propaganda and power politics with other dictators — or, we must strictly prohibit our government from playing at dictatorship so that freedom will have a chance.

We can't stay in the middle of the road: that's where people get killed.

The modern-republican-new-dealers know all this. That's why they keep pushing us further into totalitarianism. They know we have to move, and they can't endure the thought of moving back toward freedom. We must "progress," you know, even if it's into hell.

When the government's foreign aid program fails to produce the good results predicted — and succeeds only in buying disaster — what do the bureaucrats say? Whom do they blame? They say the thing didn't work because they didn't have enough power and money. They blame Congress and the people for being quarrelsome and stingy and short-sighted about foreign aid. They point out that the Soviets can make attractive for-

eign-aid promises without any disgusting bickering back home — whereas poor old Eisenhower has to fight for his foreign aid appropriations every year; and never gets enough; and what he does get is sometimes tied down with provisos that offend other nations; and the foreign aid arguments every year fill the papers and airways with the remarks of isolationist-reactionaries who say ugly things about our foreign friends.

What is the bureaucrat's suggested solution? Why, put foreign aid on a permanent basis and give the President unlimited power to go out and compete with Krushchev in the foreign-aid-promising business!

There is even some evidence that our bureaucrats sometimes *deliberately* stage defeats for America — in order to use the humiliation of those defeats to get more money and power for next time.

Step by step we are shamed and bludgeoned into surrendering our freedom so that our governmental officials can mimic and follow the lead of old-world dictatorships — until we reach the point of no return.

We haven't quite reached that point yet, but we are close. As a nation, we can still turn back to freedom; but we had better start turning.

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If you do not keep a permanent file of *The Dan Smoot Report*, please mail this copy to a friend who is interested in sound government.

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